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WHOLE No. 767

A NOTE ON TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES FREQUENCY OF TRAVEL; MOTIVES OF TRAVEL

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 28.156-159 (March 25, 1935) Professor Robert C. Horn published an article entitled *The Last Three Books of Xenophon's Anabasis*. On page 158, column 1, near the bottom, Professor Horn presents a version of *Anabasis* 6.4.8. This very interesting passage gives a hint of the motives which led some, at least, of the 10,000 Greeks to join Cyrus's expedition.

In *Classical Philology* 2.1-24, 281-304 (January, July, 1907) I published an article entitled *Travel in Ancient Times As Seen in Plautus and Terence*. Of course throughout that article I kept in mind the fact that the plays of Plautus and Terence rest on Greek originals. On pages 281-282 I gave a list of the passages in Plautus and Terence in which there is allusion to travel in connection with war. I remarked:

... As one notes the allusions in Plautus and Terence to the miles gloriosus or to the young men who go campaigning, he recalls the expeditions described in the Greek historians, and begins to realize the extent to which the citizen soldiery of Athens and the soldier of fortune became acquainted, through wars, with the outside world.

The same remark might be made with respect to Roman citizens. One who reads such a work as William of Newburgh's history of England gets a similar impression of the amount of travel that occurred in connection with war in the days with which William is concerned. The Great War of 1914-1918 caused an immense amount of travel, e. g. from America and Australia to Europe.

On page 293 of the article to which I refer above I gave a summary, as follows, of what I had written in the article about travel as seen in Plautus and Terence:

The foregoing pages amply show that travel across the seas, between points widely separated, was common in Menander's time. For the most part, travel was on matters of business; this remark holds true even of travel undertaken to find stolen children, for such journeying was not undertaken for pleasure. The traveler, then, for the most part goes against his will, to search for long lost kin, or he goes with some definite motive, arising out of war, or business in the narrower sense, or out of the intrigues connected with some love affair.

In a footnote to this passage I wrote as follows:

That people at Athens were willing, however, to travel for the mere pleasure of seeing new sights, i. e., with an attitude of mind somewhat akin to that of the modern tourist can be demonstrated by Thuc. vi. 24.3. Speaking of the motives which made the Athenians so enthusiastic for the Sicilian expedition Thucydides

says: <'And upon all alike there fell an eager desire to sail—upon the elders, from a belief that they would either subdue the places they were sailing against, or that at any rate a great force could suffer no disaster; upon those in the flower of their age, through a longing for far-off sights and scenes, in good hopes as they were of a safe return; and upon the great multitude—that is, the soldiers—who hoped not only to get money for the present, but also to acquire additional dominion which would always be an inexhaustible source of pay...'.>

In the same footnote from which I have just quoted I gathered together a number of passages in Plautus in which we get a hint of travel *animi causa*, that is for pleasure.

That the plays of Plautus and Terence afford reliable evidence concerning travel by the Greeks in the days of Menander may be seen from the concluding paragraph of my article (page 304):

The ships of the Greeks commonly followed the coast-lines. "The most important route led northwards from Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, by way of Euboea, ... Thasos, ... Imbros, Lemnos, ... to the Black Sea². Here the leading traders were Miletus, and her sister-cities, with Megara, Athens, and, later, Rhodes." With this northern route the plays have little to do; the references to Euboea, Thasos, Imbros, Lemnos, Megara, and Corinth are not numerous. "Another important route," continues Mr. Edwards³, "crossed the Aegean N. E. by Euboea, Chios (the great slave-mart), and Lesbos, and so reached Clazomenae and Phocaea; another, bearing eastward by the Cyclades to Miletus and Ephesus, was associated with branch lines connecting Athens and the Peloponnese with Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt." The careful reader of the geographical data collected on pp. 5-12, and of the accounts of travel in pp. 19-24, 281-93, will see that the latter route is the one which the writers of the plays have most frequently in mind, naturally, because they wrote in the time of the Diadochi, when men's thoughts

¹ I have given here the translation of this passage by Charles Forster Smith, *The Loeb Classical Library* 3.227, 229 (1921). In my article in *Classical Philology* I gave the words of Thucydides, without translating them.

It is worth while to mention here two discussions of travel by the Romans: Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire*, 1.268-428 (this volume is a translation, by Leonard A. Magnus, of the opening part of Friedländer's work, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* (the translation, published in England by George Routledge and Sons, in the United States of America by E. P. Dutton and Company, bears no date); William West Mooney, *Travel Among the Ancient Romans* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1920. Pp. 178).

Friedländer discusses several topics in Chapter VI: I, Communications by Roads (268-280); II, The Speed of Travel by Land and Sea (280-287); III, Land Journeys (287-299); IV, The Nature of the Traffic (299-322); in Chapter VII he discusses Touring Under the Empire (323-428).

Mr. Mooney's book falls into four chapters: I, Miscellaneous (13-62); II, Travel on Land (63-116); III, Travel on Water (117-148); IV, Lodging (149-175).

² In a footnote I referred here to the work entitled *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Edited by Leonard Whibley, 428 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1905). The same passages, slightly modified in wording, may be found in the fourth edition of this work (1931), 519 (§ 552). They occur in a discussion of <Greek> Commerce and Industry (pages 426-438 of edition 1, 518-530 of edition 4).

had been turned to Asia and to Egypt by the achievements of Alexander and his successors. "To the west the most important route circumnavigated the Peloponnese to Leucas and Corcyra, and thence struck across to Italy, Sicily, and beyond." For this route, too, the plays supply abundant evidence. Finally, we may note that the *Poenulus* points to a regular route from Carthage (and other African points) to western Greece, as the *Rudens* (629-31) points to movement between Cyrene and Capua.

CHARLES KNAPP

ON HEAT AND COLD IN HIGH ALTITUDES¹

Two recent contributors to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY have discussed the notion, occasionally found in Greek writers, that cold tends to rise². I am reminded, perhaps impertinently, of two opposing views concerning the temperature of the upper air, as shown in post-classical romances about Alexander the Great.

The work upon which most legendary histories of Alexander are based is the *Life of Alexander* by Pseudo-Callisthenes. This fabulous Greek narrative, now extant in twenty manuscripts³, is thought to have been written about 200 A. D.⁴ Its chief interest lies in the Oriental coloring imparted by the telling about Alexander of stories which had been current ages before his birth in the folklore of the Arabs, the Jews, and the various peoples living in Mesopotamia⁵.

One of the most amazing of these stories is the tale of Alexander's flight through the heavens in a sort of aerial chariot—an Oriental fiction which was told originally in Babylonia of the hero Etana⁶, and may be compared with the Persian story of Káús, who traversed the skies in an aircraft drawn by four great eagles⁷. In Pseudo-Callisthenes 2.41, Alexander rises high above the earth, and there is no telling how far he might have posted through the stratosphere, had he not been daunted by *intense cold* and the faultless logic of a little bird.

On his march to India to engage King Porus, Alexander had encamped for the night:

"... Now he commanded that two of the birds of the place be caught. They were exceedingly large and strong, and quite tame, for the sight of men did not frighten them. Some of the soldiers even jumped upon them, but they merely fluttered about with the men on their backs. Their diet included wild animals, and consequently many of the birds came flocking to the camp because of the horses which were constantly dying. So now Alexander commanded that the two which he had captured should be given nothing to eat for three days;

on the third day he ordered a piece of timber to be fashioned into a shape resembling a yoke and fastened to their necks. Then he himself climbed upon the middle of the yoke and held out a spear about a foot and a half in length, at the end of which was suspended a liver. Immediately the birds started up in order to eat the liver, and Alexander rose with them high up into the air⁸. But he shivered violently because of the coldness of the air which was fanned toward him by the wings of the birds.

Presently a winged creature with a man's body accosts him, saying, "Alexander, who knowest not the things of earth, wherefore dost thou seek to compass the things of heaven? Rather turn back this minute toward the earth, lest thou become a morsel for these winged birds. Now once again look down upon the earth!" In consternation Alexander looked down, and lo! he beheld a great serpent coiled up, and in the middle of its coils a threshing-floor. Then the stranger said, "Dost thou recognise it? The threshing-floor is the world, the serpent is the sea, which encircleth the earth". But Alexander turned back, and by the grace of providence he landed on earth seven days' journey from his camp....

With the rise of the *Trouvères* in Northern France during the twelfth century there grew up a new Alexander cycle, the most celebrated example of which has been handed down under the names of two Norman poets, Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay⁹. In fluent Alexandrines they tell¹⁰ how the great Macedonian ascended in a gondola consisting of a solidly built framework covered with hides and luxuriously provided with windows. Traction was furnished by *griffons*, of the sort which eats a sheep a day and traverses enormous distances at the flip of a wing. Although there were eight of these prodigious creatures, Alexander dangled the liver in front of their noses with the same intrepidity as before, and they dashed off open-mouthed at incredible speed. Careening madly, the curious equipage had already achieved fantastic heights, when all at once the *intolerable heat* began to shrivel the hides with which the flimsy vehicle was upholstered: "Li cuirs de la canbrète crespist à la brullée". Reluctantly Alexander depressed the baited spear and guided his team back to safety.

Similarly, in the French prose-romance¹¹ of Alexander, written toward the end of the thirteenth century¹², heat finally forced the conqueror down. Compared with the other two versions, the story seems elaborately ornamented with ecclesiastic and feudal furbelows. The idea of surveying the earth and exploring the sky Alexander conceives while he is standing on

¹Mr. Crum is this year Drisler Fellow in Classics at Columbia University, C. K.

²See W. A. Oldfather, *The Rising of Cold*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.99-100; T. W. Valentine, *The Rising of Cold Again*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 28.31-32.

³The text and a Latin translation of it by Julius Valerius were both edited by Carl Müller, in *Scriptores Rerum Alexandri Magni*, in a volume in which was included also Fr. Dübner, *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* (Paris, Didot, 1846).

⁴Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Edited from Five Manuscripts, With an English Translation and Notes, Introduction, lii (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1889).

⁵See Guillaume Favre, *Vie d'Alexandre le Grand*, in *Bibliothèque Universelle des Sciences, Belles-Lettres, et Arts* 7 (1818), 322-327. Compare Budge (as in note 3, above), Introduction, xxxv-cxi.

⁶Bruno Meissner, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, 48, 52 (Potsdam, Wildpark, 1927). This work is Volume 14 of the *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, Herausgegeben von Oskar Walzel (Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1923-). Compare Bruno Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamesh*, 17-19 (Leipzig, Preis, 1894).

⁷Pirdausi, *The Shāhnāma*, 410-412.

⁸Alexander's device is to the animal kingdom essentially what Cyranos was to the mineral. Cyranos's plan was to throw a magnet up into the air and, clinging to a piece of metal, to be drawn up with it. This was tedious work, for the magnet required to be tossed up over and over again, whereas Alexander accomplished his ends with a minimum of exertion, merely by tweaking the appetite of his ravaging chargers.

⁹*Li Romans d'Alexandre* par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay, Nach Handschriften der Königlichen Büchersammlung zu Paris, Herausgegeben von Heinrich Michelant (Stuttgart, Kreuzer, 1846).

¹⁰Michelant (see note 8, above), 388-389.

¹¹*Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, Nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift, Nebst dem Lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension [?]), Herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka (Halle, Niemeyer, 1920). The *Historia de Preliis*, an eleventh-century Latin translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and the work upon which the French prose-romance was based, says (in Section 115) that Alexander returned to earth when...virtus divina obumbravit easdem grifas et deiecit eas ad terram.... There is no mention of heat or cold.

¹²Hilka (see note 10, above), Introduction, vii.

a mountain near the Red Sea. Having thoughtfully provided not only food for the beasts to smell at but also wet sponges to refresh them with the hope of water, he is whisked away by sixteen griffons attached by stout chains to a cage which, being made of iron, must soon have proved incapable of withstanding the relentless heat of the upper air, and have begun to melt. This perilous situation, so fraught with danger for Alexander, is resolved as follows¹²:

... Quant Alixandres vit qu'il estoient si pres dou fu, si se dota que les penes des oiseaus n'arissent, si s'agenoilla et pria a Dieu le toutpoissant qui li aparust en Macedone en la semblance, qu'il li deuist aidier, qu'il peüst retorer sain et sauf a son peuple, non mie por lui, mais por le sauvement d'eals. Lors aombra la vertus divine la cage et les oiseaus, si qu'il pistrent terre a x journees pres de l'ost. Quant Alixandres se vit a terre, si destaca les chaenes et li oisel s'en volerent. Adont issi Alixandres de la cage et rendi grasses a nostre Signor de l'honor qu'il li avoit faite qu'il estoit sains et sans descendus a terre....

Having observed the fishes at the bottom of the sea from the interior of a glass diving-bell (an episode treated most lovingly by the romancers), Alexander returns at length to his waiting 'barons', who greet¹³ him boisterously with "Vive li rois Alixandres, sires de tout le monde et ausi dou ciel et de la mer comme de la terre!"

In addition to introducing religious and chivalric elements, the writer of the last version seems to derive a perverse satisfaction from dwelling upon each harrowing detail of Alexander's manipulation of the food and the drink with which he at once drives and defrauds his famished griffons. Like Pseudo-Callisthenes, the writer likens the appearance of the sea, at great altitudes, to that of a voluminous serpent, and the earth to a threshing-floor. But he agrees with the Norman singers in supposing the upper air to be a region not of cold but of unmitigated heat¹⁴.

JAMAICA, NEW YORK

RICHARD HENRY CRUM

MORE STRANGE ISLANDS

The imaginary island which, according to Lucian, *Vera Historia* 2.42-43¹, consisted of a thick forest of pines and cypresses without any roots, floating upon the sea, provides us with food for speculation. "... It is likely", says Mr. John Macy², "that Swift's *Gulliver* took a lesson or two from Lucian..." In the third voyage of *Gulliver's Travels* Gulliver discovers Laputa, an island that flies about in the air two miles above the

earth. May we not suppose that the flying island was a 'lesson' which Swift learned at the feet of Lucian?

One is at first tempted to call Lucian's island, like Swift's, a piece of imaginative fooling, part of Lucian's remorseless satire of the tall stories which had been written by certain Greek travelers and historians. Such indeed is the account, in the *Vera Historia*, of a trip to the moon and of a battle between the inhabitants of the sun and the inhabitants of the moon.

In this case, however, Lucian has been able to produce (for us, at least) the effect of a comic exaggeration by merely repeating a tale of floating trees already current among travelers and scientists. Thus Megasthenes, in his geographical account of India, had declared that 'there are trees growing in the Indian Ocean ...'. Theophrastus writes thus in the *Historia Plantarum* 4.6.1 (I give the passage as translated by Professor Arthur Hort³):

... Not only in swamps, lakes and rivers, but even in the sea there are some tree-like growths, and in the ocean there are even trees. In our own sea all the things that grow are small, and hardly any of them rise above the surface; but in the ocean we find the same kinds rising above the surface, and also other larger trees....⁴

Pliny the Elder says⁵ that in *Rubrum mari oleae virentesque frutices enascuntur*. Again in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* (we read (13.135):

Nascuntur etiam in mari frutices arboresque—minores in nostro—, Rubrum enim et totus orientis oceanus refertus est silvis. Non habet lingua Latia^{6a} nomen quod Graeci vocant phycos, quoniam alga herbarum maris vocabulum intellegitur, hic autem est frutex....

I have no knowledge of the existence of any actual shrubbery or vegetation growing above the surface of floating seaweed, but I have seen such a growth on the floating islands of an inland lake at Whitingham, Vermont. This lake formerly contained one floating island of several acres, composed of a mass of entangled roots and reeds with sufficient soil to support a few dwarf spruce trees. Recently a part broke loose and formed a separate island.

There is an island near Trinidad which is reported not only to have changed position but also to have vanished and to have popped up again, years later, to the consternation of the inhabitants of the British West Indies. A dispatch from the Associated Press printed in *The New York Sun* of November 24, 1934 says, in part:

"In November, 1911, this strange island rose from the sea in Erin Bay in southern Trinidad," the Vice-Consul reported, "accompanied by extraordinary commotions in the sea and immense columns of smoke and flame. People thought the end of the world had come."

The island was composed of hot jellylike mud from which steam spouted, and it exuded the smell of sulphur, he said.

¹Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2.413, Number 17 (Five volumes in six: Paris, Didot, 1868-1878).

²Arthur Hort, *Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants, And Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, in *The Loeb Classical Library* (Two volumes: London, William Heinemann, 1916). See 1. 329.

³Compare Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* 4.6.2; Aristotle, *De Mundo* 396 a, 23.

⁴^{6a}Latia, with the *l* italicized, is the reading of Carl Mayhoff (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909). Good manuscripts and the old editions gave *alia*. Ludwig Ian, in an older Teubner edition of the text, read *Italia*. C. K. >

⁵Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2.226. Compare 13.139.

¹²Section 115 = Folio 67v = Hilka (see note 10, above), 230-231. Compare also Hilka, Introduction, xvi.

¹³Section 115, ad finem = Folio 67r = Hilka (see note 10, above), 231.

¹⁴Opposite page 290 in Hilka (see note 10, above), there are reproductions of two delightful miniatures from the Berlin manuscript of the prose-romance. Alexander is shown seated first in his aerial car and later in the glass diving-bell. Representations of Alexander's flight in sculpture and in painting are considered by Julien Durand, *Legende d'Alexandre le Grand*, in *Annales Archéologiques* 25 (1865), 141-158. Opposite page 141 there is a reproduction of a Byzantine bas-relief at St. Marks in Venice. Alexander stands in a splendid chariot drawn by two griffons, and holds two ornamental maces, one in each hand.

¹See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 27.78.

²John Macy, *The Story of the World's Literature*, 128 (New York, Liveright, 1925).

Slowly the island began disappearing, "washed away by the heavy seas and strong currents from the Serpent's Mouth," and then it was suddenly gone, swallowed by the waters.

"And now," he reported, "the missing island, pushed to the surface by another upheaval, has come ashore . . ."

Similar occurrences are occasionally mentioned by classical writers. Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 2.201-203) gives a list of islands, mostly small volcanic islands in the Aegean, which had risen from the sea, some so recently that the date of their origin was known. It was widely believed that Rhodes and Delos likewise rose from the sea⁷. The earliest account of the emergence of Rhodes, perhaps derived from local folklore⁸, occurs in Pindar⁹:

Now 'tis said in ancient human story
That, when Zeus and the Immortals were allotting the
lands between themselves,
Rhodes was not yet manifest on the sea-plain,
But that the island was hidden in the salt depths.
But the Sun-God was not present at the lot-drawing,
and no one marked his share.
Therefore the holy God was left portionless of land.
And when he made them mindful of it, Zeus was fain to
draw the lots again.
But he suffered him not: for he said
That he himself discerned a land rising up from its
foundation within the hoary sea,
A land of rich pasture, kindly to men and flocks.
And he bade the Fate-Goddess of the golden frontlet
forthwith to hold up her hands and not transgress the
mighty oath of the Gods, but with the son of Kronos
to pledge
That the land now brought forth into the bright light
of day
Should be for ever in the future as a glory for his head.
And the sum of all his speech fell true at last.
An island blossomed from the wet sea,
And the Father who begetteth the rays of light,
The Lord of fire-breathing steeds, hath her for his own.

According to Pliny¹⁰, Aristotle believed that Delos had suddenly appeared above the water. This view was shared by his pupil Theophrastus. Theophrastus, however, attributed the apparent emergence of both Delos and Rhodes to the subsiding of the waters of the Mediterranean, which, according to a tradition as old at least as Anaximander¹¹, was the constantly receding remnant of a great flood that had once covered the whole earth. Theophrastus writes¹²:

⁷See Hugo Berger, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, 155 (Leipzig, Veit, 1903); E. H. Berger, *Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen*, 21 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1904). The latter work is a Supplement to W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884-).

A variation of the legend is found in Diodorus, who tells (5.56) of a violent flood which overwhelmed Rhodes and drowned all the inhabitants, save a few who fled to the hilltops. Delos, according to Callimachus, Hymn to Delos 35-38, and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.4.1, had fallen from heaven as Asteria, daughter of the Titan Coeus and Phoebe. Asteria was metamorphosed into the island of Delos because she fled from the embrace of Zeus. <For the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus see the work entitled Apollodorus, The Library, With An English Translation, by Sir James George Frazer (two volumes, in The Loeb Classical Library, 1921, 1921). In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.197-198 I gave an account of this work, and I made some comments on the value of the *Bibliotheca* to students of the Classics. C. K.>

⁸Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Works of Pindar*, Translated, With Literary and Critical Commentaries, 2.55 (Three volumes: London, Macmillan, 1930-1932).

⁹Pindar, *Olympia* 7.54-71. I give Farnell's translation (see note 8, above).

¹⁰Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 4.66. Compare W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, 1-5 (Oxford, Blackwell, 1933).

¹¹Berger, *Geschichte der . . . Erdkunde*, 40 (see note 7, above).

¹²Theophrastus, Fragment 30.3, in Friedrich Wimmer, *Theophrasti Eresii Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* (Paris, Didot, 1866).

"... Indeed it is believed that the sea has been receding. Witness the well-known islands of Rhodes and Delos, which anciently lay submerged and hidden by the waves, but later, as the waters gradually sank lower, emerged and were visible as low islands, according to written accounts. . ."

There is a Germanic legend comparable to Pindar's story of the raising of Rhodes as a gift to Phoebus. The people of Schleswig-Holstein tell¹³ of a bevy of divine maidens who were pursued by an unwelcome suitor. From the ship on which they were sailing they sprang into the water where Heligoland now lies. By some miraculous power they were supported upon the waves, where they danced continuously until that island rose to the surface beneath their feet¹⁴.

JAMAICA, NEW YORK

RICHARD HENRY CRUM

SOME THOUGHTS ON PESSIMISM IN CLASSICAL LITERATURE

One of the salient features of Greek art is optimism. Despondency hardly finds a place even in reliefs upon tombs. Yet on few passages in literature are the darkness of despair and unmitigated melancholy more strongly impressed than they are upon certain passages in classical literature.

In philosophy pessimism is an ever present note. What can be more pessimistic than Seneca's sentence¹, *Morieris, non quia aegrotas, sed quia vivis*, the cold, formal statement that causes a mental recoil at its absolute, un pitying logic? This pessimism was a great factor in the molding of the beliefs of the philosophers. The transcending note of their teaching is a flight to the haven of self. The philosopher distrusts the outside world; he seeks to be self-contained. Compare the assertion of Seneca², *et ubicumque sum, ibi meus sum*. True, the *Phaedo* with its promise of immortality after death is not without optimism. But Plato's doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις* is essentially pessimistic. Everything that we see in this world is a mere reflection of an ideal existing out of the reach of poor mortals. Pessimism at its blackest is represented by the atomic theory of Democritus and the doctrines of Epicurus as mirrored in Lucretius³. There is, however, in Lucretius a note of softness, as in 3.909-910:

Illud ab hoc igitur quaerendum est quid sit amari
tanto opere ad somnum si res redit atque quietem.

¹See Ludwig Laistner, *Nebelsagen*, 165, 284 (Stuttgart, Speemann, 1879).

²In the New York Herald Tribune Books of Sunday, February 3, 1935 (Section VII, page 3 of that issue of the New York Herald Tribune) there was a review, by Marguerite Harrison, of a book entitled *Jungle: A Tale of the Amazon Rubber-Tappers*, by Ferreira De Castro (translated from the Portuguese by Charles Duff (New York: Viking Press)).

In this review the following words appeared:

"Even the reaches of the river itself were invaded by vegetation. Its surface was dotted by floating islands that had broken away from its banks. . . ." C. K.>

³See Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 78.6.

⁴See Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 62.1. <To me the tone here is the very opposite of pessimistic. This letter begins as follows: *Mentitur qui sibi obstat ad studia liberalia turbam negotiorum videri volunt: simulant occupationes et augent et ipsi se occupant. Vaco, Lucili, vaco, et, ubicumque sum, ibi meus sum. . . .* C. K.>

⁵When, after editing it, I returned Mr. Marcantonio's manuscript to him for examination and revision by him, I wrote here, "Is Lucretius pessimistic? From his own point of view he surely was not a pessimist. I see in his poem a paean of joy over his success in freeing men from fear: where, in literature, can one find a more triumphant utterance than the verses (3.830-869) in which Lucretius

But this pessimism adds much beauty to classical literature. It is not always the material, revolting pessimism of a Leconte de Lisle²:

Encore une torture, encore un battement,
Puis, rien. La terre s'ouvre, un peu de chair y tombe.

It is sometimes nearer the sweetness of Petrarch's sorrow for a fair spirit fled³:

Nè gran prosperità il mio stato avverso
Può consolar di quel bel spirito sciolto.

Few doctrines are as beautiful as the Stoic teaching that virtue is the sole end and good of man. The calm courage of the Greek is seen in Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1239-1240, where Cassandra says

καὶ τῶνδ' ὁμοῦν εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;
τὸ μέλλον ἤξει·^{4a}

It was an offshoot of pessimism when the great majority of a sensitive nation saw no hope of peace beyond the grave⁵.

Where no rude shade or night
Shall dare approach us.

Under such circumstances life became a brief span of existence, sandwiched, as it were, between two stretches of infinite darkness, a restless hour to be ennobled and beautified as much as possible. Thus on the one hand we have the beauties of Greek art in sculpture, painting, and vase-making, the deathless works of literature. On the other hand we have in Greek tragedy an embodiment of despair, an incarnation of pessimism, an abysmal helplessness. We recoil in horror at the grim figure of Nemesis, at the grand procession to some awful doom predestined and irrevocable, and at the harvest of the reaper Death in tragedies where, as Hallam⁶ says

sums up his long proof, occupying in all nearly 3,000 verses, that the soul of man is mortal? Note the pains he takes in the rest of Book 3 (870-1094) to keep his converts firm in the belief whose truth he has, in his own conviction and to his own immense satisfaction, so completely demonstrated". To this Mr. Marcantonio replied: "Admittedly Lucretius writes with the zeal of a true preacher who feels what he says and sees in his scheme some hope for men. But that hope is a negative hope, complete annihilation after death. This sleep of death seems a somewhat poor destiny to one who has read Lucretius's raptures over Venus, in Book 1, and feels with Lucretius the immensity of nature. In any discussion of the question of the immortality of the soul any lack of optimism one feels, illogically, perhaps, but humanly, as pessimism". But the hope that Lucretius saw was not annihilation after death, *per se*. It was rather the freedom that such annihilation brings from fear of punishments such as Lucretius describes in 3.978-1023. If man accepts the teaching of Lucretius, he enjoys freedom from such fear, while he is alive and conscious. Mr. Marcantonio has, I think, confused two quite distinct things, (1) his personal reaction to Lucretius's demonstration, and (2) Lucretius's own conception of what he was doing and what he had done. So far as the reader of Books 1-3 of the *De Rerum Natura* can judge, it never occurred to Lucretius that to some, perhaps to many, his demonstration that the soul of man is mortal, that annihilation via death faces all mortals might be a grievous sorrow, a veritable horror. The splendid verses (3.830-860) in which Lucretius sums up all that he has thus far said in his poem are a triumphant, optimistic, supremely happy utterance of a man who is thoroughly content, for himself, with the view he has set forth, and sees in that view the best and finest hope for his fellow-men.

I note that this passage (3.830-860) would have made a glorious ending to the discussion that began at 1.146, indeed to the whole poem. See my remarks on these verses, and on 3.870-1023, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.31. These remarks occur at the close of my paper, Analysis of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* I-III, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.1-5, 9-13, 17-21, 25-31, C. K. >.

²See Leconte de Lisle, *Poèmes Barbares*, *Le Vent Froid de la Nuit*, 29-30 (1862).

³See Petrarch, *Sonnet CCC*.

^{4a}Professor Herbert Weir Smyth renders this as follows: "And yet 'tis all one, whether or not I win belief. What matters it? What is to come, will come. . . ." Professor Smyth translated Aeschylus for The Loeb Classical Library (two volumes, 1922, 1926). C. K. >.

⁵See Henry Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*, Part I, *Resurrection and Immortality*, Stanza 3 (1650).

⁶See Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* 3.346 (edition of 1872).

of Webster's Duchess of Malfi, hardly enough characters are left alive to bury the dead.

Of course not all were so pessimistic. According to Petronius⁷ Trimalchio wishes to have the following appear as part of the record on his tombstone: Pius, fortis, fidelis, ex parvo crevit, sestertium reliquit trecenties, nec umquam philosophum audivit. Such a man would hardly have appreciated the saying of Theognis⁸, echoed by Sophocles⁹, that for mortals the greatest of blessings is not to be born at all, the next greatest to pass the portals of Hades as quickly as possible. The noblest memorial of this pessimism is Roman satire—perhaps the only original feature¹⁰ of Roman literature. It ranges from the delicate humor of Pliny the Younger¹¹, *Magna auctoris fides: tametsi quid poetarum cum fide?¹², to the cryptic remarks of Tacitus, who says of Galba, *ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus*. Indeed the psychology of Tacitus was a mixture of pessimism, satire, and paradox. He makes Galba say¹³, *quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corripimur*. Satire, again, ranges from the saying of Seneca the philosopher¹⁴, *Homines vitia sua et amant et oderunt*, to that saying of the master of satire, Horace¹⁵, *aut insanit homo aut versus facit*.*

In a character where pessimism exists almost as a mode of thought courage becomes the supreme virtue. That is possibly why *ἀρετή* and *virtus*¹⁶ mean both 'courage' and 'moral excellence'. No one will deny the courage of the Spartans. Yet they were inveterate pessi-

⁷See Petronius 71.

⁸See Theognis 425-428. See also note 9, below.

⁹Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 1225-1229. <See the note on this passage by Sir Richard C. Jebb, in his *Oedipus Coloneus* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900). Jebb quotes, *inter alia*, a passage which, as I read Mr. Marcantonio's paper the first time, without reference to books, I thought of at once, Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.114-115 (too long to quote here). Cicero there translates into verse a passage of Euripides. But, be it noted, the pessimistic sentiment contained in these verses is not Cicero's own view; Book 1 of the *Tusculanae Disputationes* is, from end to end, a direct challenge to pessimistic views about death. C. K. >.

¹⁰If for 'feature' the expression 'literary form' be substituted, this statement will be much nearer the truth. C. K. >.

¹¹See Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 9.33.1.

¹²See Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.49.

¹³See Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.15. <If the whole passage is quoted, its relevance to the present discussion, to my mind at least, vanishes. Galba is talking to Piso, whom he is adopting. He says, . . . *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quis miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corripimur*. . . . C. K. >.

¹⁴Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 112.4. <Here again the context is very important. Seneca says: "Sed dicat se offendi vita sua". Non negaverim. Quis enim non offenditur? Homines vitia sua et amant simul et oderunt. Tunc itaque de illo feremus sententiam cum fidem nobis fecerit invisam iam sibi esse luxuriam; nunc illis male convenit. . . . The last clause Dr. Richard Mott Gummere renders by "as it is now, luxury and he are merely not on speaking terms" (in The Loeb Classical Library version of Seneca's Letters, 3.282 [1925]). C. K. >.

¹⁵See Horace, *Sermones* 2.7.117. <[I] question the remark about *virtus*. To a Roman that word for centuries meant 'manliness', in a wide variety of connotations. Naturally, the word meant most frequently to a Roman manliness as displayed in battle, 'courage'. In that sense the word of course carried no hint of pessimism. The regular use of *virtus* with such connotations as our word *virtue* now carries belongs to the day when *mundus*, as a conscious and deliberate translation of *κόσμος*, came to denote 'the world', 'the universe'. The word *virtue* itself has, in fact, had a history similar to that of *virtus*. >

Here, as elsewhere in Mr. Marcantonio's paper, I see the danger of generalizations. Generalizations belong to the later years of life. One who would generalize rightly must take into account a host of considerations. I have never forgotten the answer which a teacher of mine gave me many years ago. In my undergraduate days I asked him what he thought of the Homeric Question. He replied that no man was entitled to an opinion on that subject until he was at least fifty years old. When I was sure that he was fifty years old, I put the question to him again. He then said that no man was entitled to an opinion on that subject until he was at least seventy-five years old. There is profound truth in these answers, if they are interpreted in their spirit, without reference to the specific problem that, as it chanced, called them forth. C. K. >.

mists. 'You think you will never escape from danger' is the comment of a speaker in Thucydides (1.103). We see a calmer view of life, not without its air of pessimism, in Cicero, Pro Rabirio 30, Etenim, Quirites, exiguam nobis vitae curriculum natura circumscipit, immensum gloriae. . . . This attitude is not unknown in modern literature. Théophile Gautier says¹⁷,

Les dieux eux-mêmes meurent,
Mais les Vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus fortes que les airains.

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CICERO, TUSCULANAE DISPUTATIONES

1. 94¹

. . . Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci, qui unum diem vivunt. . . .

The editors here are so interested in the citation from Aristotle and in details concerning the *bestiolae* mentioned in the text that they pass unnoticed the difficulty of the words *ab Europae parte*. The translators, however, are obliged to meet the issue. They do not agree.

In The Loeb Classical Library translation¹⁸ of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* the words are rendered by "from a part of Europe"; they were so translated by Otis² and much earlier³. This making of *Europae* a genitive of the whole would be satisfactory, if Cicero were referring to a district already mentioned, and could say *ab ea Europae parte*. But *ab Europae parte* cannot readily be so handled.

It seems more satisfactory to start with the fact that the ablative *parte* is used so often in directional expressions. If we may interpret *ab Europae parte* in the light of such phrases as *a sinistra parte*⁴, the meaning of the text above would be 'which flows into the Black Sea from the European side', or, more idiomatically, 'on the European side'. This is approximated by the French translation of Humbert, "du côté de l'Europe"⁵.

H. C. NUTTING

SUETONIUS, GALBA 15. 2

. . . Quin etiam populo Romano deposcente supplicium Haloti et Tigillini, solos ex omnibus Neronis emissariis vel maleficientissimos, incolumes praestitit. . . .

The editors seem to offer nothing toward the solution of the expression *solos ex omnibus . . . vel maleficientissimos*.

¹⁷See Théophile Gautier, in *Émaux et Camées*.

¹⁸At the time of Professor Nutting's death, in September last, I had on hand a number of short articles which he had sent to me. These will be published from time to time. C. K. >

¹J. E. King, *Cicero, Tusculan Disputations* (The Loeb Classical Library, New York, Putnam, 1927).

²G. A. Otis, *The Tusculan Questions* (Boston, James B. Dow, 1839).

³An anonymous translation (the title-page is lacking) offers "from some part of Europe".

⁴E. g. Caesar, *De Bello Civili* 3.94.4.

⁵Jules Humbert, *Cicéron, Tusculanes*, Tome I (Paris, "Les Belles Lettres", 1931).

mos. Several translators understand Suetonius to mean that Halotus and Tigillinus alone of Nero's minions were spared by Galba, and that too despite the fact that they were the most abandoned. So Ailloud¹ renders by "ils furent, quoique les plus coupable parmi les agents de Néron, les seuls auxquels il laissa la vie". Compare the version of Treves²: "i soli rimasti incolumi fra tutti i sicarii di Nerone benchè fossero i più malvagi"³.

Such an interpretation is not free from difficulty. In the first place it might be hard to establish a roster of 'Nero's minions' so that it could be stated with certainty that only two of his agents escaped with their lives⁴. Again, the statements of other writers do not imply such a specific cleavage⁵. Furthermore, the interpretation proposed would be more plausible if the text read *eos solos* rather than *solos* alone.

A quite different analysis is implied by Professor Rolfe's translation⁶: "when the Roman people called for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, the most utterly abandoned of all Nero's creatures, not content with saving their lives, he honoured Halotus. . . ."

This version seems to find in *solos* merely a reinforcement of the superlative which follows. For such an interpretation there is something to be said. The use of *unus* to strengthen a superlative is not uncommon, but that word could not well be employed here because a plural is required. For the plural of *unus* it might seem that *solos* is a fair substitute.

It is interesting to find that, in the discussion of the use of *unus* with superlatives, the Stolz-Schmalz Grammar⁷ lists as parallel the very words here under discussion (*solos . . . vel maleficientissimos*), thus supporting the suggestion just advanced.

This parallel we can make even closer by bringing into consideration a fact mentioned a few pages earlier in the same volume⁸, namely that *unus omnium* sometimes is used to stress a superlative. To that expression *solos ex omnibus* of the present passage offers a very nice balance.

With this interpretation there seems to be a degree of pleonasm in the Latin expression, since the superlative is immediately preceded by *vel*. But Suetonius may have been straining for emphasis; in any case no greater liberty is taken than in double comparative expressions such as *ante alios immanior*⁹, which are common enough.

H. C. NUTTING

¹H. Ailloud, *Suétone, Vies des Douze Césars*, Tome III (Paris, "Les Belles Lettres", 1932).

²A. Treves, *Le Vite dei Cesari* (Milan, Edizioni Athena, 1929).

³So also F. N. Castilla, *Los Doce Césares* (Madrid, Paez y CA; not dated). The following seem to have the same general idea, though they do not express it so clearly: P. Holland, *Suetonius, History of Twelve Caesars* (London, Nutt, 1899); A. Thompson, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Revised by T. Forester (London, Bell, 1914); A. Stahr, *Sueton, Die Zwölf Cäsaren* (Munich and Leipzig, G. Müller, 1912). More vague is M. Rat, *Suétone, Les Douze Césars* (Paris, Garnier Frères, 1931).

⁴To this consideration it might perhaps be objected that we should not deal thus strictly with an author like Suetonius.

⁵Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.72.4; Plutarch, *Galba* 17; Dio Cassius 64.3.

⁶J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius, With an English Translation*, 2.215 (in The Loeb Classical Library [New York, Putnam, 1914]).

⁷Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 482 (Munich, Beck, 1926-1928. This edition is by Manu Leumann and Joh. Bapt. Hofmann).

⁸463.

⁹Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.347.

MARTIAL 8. 74

Oplomachus nunc es, fueras ophthalmicus ante.
Fecisti medicus quod facis oplomachus.

This is one of Martial's jibes at the medical malpractice of his day¹. He is playing upon the assonance of *oplomachus* and *ophthalmicus*.

A rather prosaic interpreter may say that *oplomachus* stands for *gladiator*, and that *ophthalmicus* merely = *medicus* (see 2). On that basis, the sense is that the one-time doctor continues in another field his career of destruction. The epigram appears to be generally so understood. It is thus rendered by Messrs. Pott and Wright²:

A fighter to-day and a doctor before,
Time makes little change in your course,
The force of your physic was fatal before,
So now is your physical force!

Such handling seems to miss the finer points of the epigram. As the man referred to had been an oculist, Martial's words naturally are taken to mean that he still manhandles eyes. Schrevelius³, indeed, records the interpretation "excaecas homines"; Friedländer⁴ at first followed with the suggestion that *oplomachi*, whose bodies otherwise were fully protected, tried to wound each other's eyes through the slits in their visors.

To this Meier⁵ entered the plausible objection that it is likely that *oplomachi* were not matched against one another, but (as often in other cases) against gladiators of a different type. Hence, if there were any danger to the eyes, he concludes that it would concern the opponent of the *oplomachus*.

Friedländer abandoned his own suggestion⁶, and adopted Meier's paraphrase, "et nunc, cum sis oplomachus i. e. gladiator, et olim, cum ophthalmicus eras, homines luce et salute privasti". Unfortunately this is somewhat ambiguous. Possibly *luce* is meant to suggest wounding the eye; yet the sentence as a whole would naturally be read as in harmony with the now generally accepted interpretation reflected in the version of Pott and Wright quoted above.

That Martial's readers caught a hint that the *oplomachus* in question struck at his opponent's eyes is very probable. The man had been an 'eye specialist', which would incline him to center attention upon the eye. There is keen satire in the thought that his crude surgery had been as deadly, unintentionally, as the wounds which he now effects, intentionally, in the eyes of an opponent⁷.

Perhaps a Roman reader would be helped to such understanding of the passage by the fact that it was an unlovely national practice, even in an informal fight

with bare hands, to attack an adversary's eyes with intent to tear them from their sockets⁸.

H. C. NUTTING

TACITUS, HISTORIAE 2. 42

Attonitas subito terrore mentis falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. . . . Omisso pugnae ardore Othoniani ultro salutavere, et hostili murmure excepti plebisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi metum promotionis fecere. . . .

The reference here is to the preliminaries of the Battle of Bedriacum, where the armies of Otho and Vitellius were pitted against each other. A false rumor that the Vitellians were about to change sides relaxed for a part of the Othonians the tense expectation of battle, and caused them to utter a shout of greeting to their foes.

Concerning *hostili murmure* the editors seem to have nothing to say. A survey of numerous translations (English, German, French, Italian, Spanish) reveals a very general unanimity in the renderings of the words: "hostile murmurs", "hostile murmurings", "angry shouts", "hostile cries", "feindlichem Gemurr", "un cri de guerre", "mormorio nimico", "murmullo de enemigos"¹.

This interpretation of the words is far from convincing. The shout of an army designed to carry across the field to opposing forces is not very aptly termed 'murmur' or 'murmurings'; such expressions would suit better a muttering of the soldiers among themselves. It is more likely that Tacitus used *murmure* rather than *clamore* to indicate that the sound fell somewhat indistinctly upon the ears of a part of the Othonians².

Moreover, the adjective *hostilis* does not necessarily mean 'hostile'. Sometimes it signifies merely 'of the enemy'. In *Annales* 11.20.1 *Iam castra in hostili solo molienti Corbuloni eae litterae redduntur*, the words *in hostili solo* = 'in the enemy's territory'. So the Lexicon of Gerber and Greef³ interprets *clamore hostili* in *Historiae* 3.77.2. It may well be that in *Historiae* 2.42 *hostili murmure* should be rendered by 'a rumbling shout of the enemy'⁴.

This fits the context very well. One section of the Othonians, misled by a false rumor, shouts a greeting to the Vitellians. Their friends, who do not understand the reason for this action, on hearing an answering cry from the enemy suspect a treacherous arrangement that is leaving them in the lurch. If (as the translators would have it) the answering cry of the Vitellians had been

¹For illustrations see my article, *Oculus Effodere*, *Classical Philology* 17 (1922), 313-318. <This barbarous practice has had all too many parallels in modern times, even in our own country. C. K.>

²The full expression is "saludaron a los Vitelianos, que los recibieron con murmullo de enemigos" (D. C. Coloma, *Las Historias de Cayo Cornelio Tacito* [Madrid, Sucesores de Hernando, 1909]).

³One may consult A. Gerber et A. Greef, *Lexicon Taciteum* (Leipzig, Teubner), s. v. *murmur*; he should observe how seldom this word is used by Tacitus. See especially *Annales* 2.12.2; *Germania* 3.2.

⁴See note 2, above.

⁵The French rendering by J. H. Dotteville, "qui répond par un murmure", neglects *hostili* altogether (*Histoire de Tacite* [Paris, Moutard, 1772]). A. Murphy offers a flowery paraphrase: "returned a deep and hollow murmur" (*The Works of Cornelius Tacitus* [Philadelphia, T. Wardle, 1846]).

¹Compare 1.30.47; 6.53.4.

²J. A. Pott and F. A. Wright, *Martial, The Twelve Books of Epigrams* (London, G. Routledge [not dated]). This is a volume of the so-called Broadway Translations.

³C. Schrevelius, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1670).

⁴L. Friedländer, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1886).

⁵P. J. Meier, *De Gladiatura Romana*, 23 (Bonn, 1881. This is a dissertation).

⁶See again his edition, named in note 4, above.

⁷In following this procedure he would, of course, be losing nothing in effectiveness, for the piercing of an eye would either be instantly fatal, or it would at any rate leave an adversary at a great disadvantage.

heard clearly as hostile, that fact would have tended to relieve the situation, but, if the shout sounded confused, so that its purport was uncertain, the bulk of the Othonian forces may well have felt uneasy⁵.

The present note, of course, is in no sense a historical study. Tacitus has a story to tell, and our immediate problem is to determine what he means to say.

H. C. NUTTING

LUCAN 4. 787

Critics are sometimes too ready to find fault with Silver Latin poets. Mr. J. Wight Duff, in his volume, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, 325 (London, T. Fisher Unwin, New York, Scribner, 1927), says, "... so zealous is <Lucan> in making a point that he again and again overshoots the mark, as in his account of ... Curio's slaughtered men in Africa having no room to fall:

Hemmed by the throng each corpse still kept its feet
(*Compressum turba stetit omne cadaver*, IV, 787) ..."

⁵In his account of the Battle of Bedriacum Plutarch evidently had Tacitus before him. If he was attempting to translate *hostili murmure*, he too understood it as meaning a hostile shout (see Otho 12.1). This, however, is of no significance, for, on a point like this, he would be less critical than the translators of the present day.

In the *Journal of Roman Studies* 18 (1928), 124-125 Mr. W. B. <Anderson> reviewed Mr. Duff's volume, giving it, in most matters, high praise. Of the passage with which I am here concerned Mr. <Anderson> writes thus (125):

... Mr. Wight Duff quite naturally classes among Lucan's bizarre exaggerations IV.787 *compressum turba stetit omne cadaver*. The following reports of incidents in the Great War ought perhaps to modify this view. (a) 'A French infantryman, in describing the ferocious street fighting, declared that the roads became so jammed with dead that the killed remained upstanding where they were shot, resting on their dead brothers.' (b) 'Our quick firing guns, posted only five metres apart, belched forth, and we were confronted with the sight of corpses standing upright in bunches.'

But we can defend Lucan without quoting from the history of so late a day. Let the last great Roman historian speak as an eye-witness of what he describes (Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.12):

... Hic mixti cum Persis eodem ictu procurentibus ad superiora nobiscum, ad usque ortum alterius solis immobiles stetimus, ita conferti ut caesorum cadauera multitudine fulta reperire ruendi spatium nusquam possent, utque miles ante me quidam discriminato capite, quod in aquas partes ictus gladii fiderat validissimus, in stipitis modum undique coartatus haereret.

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